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Wolton Lane  
Genl. & Pol.

TO RECONCILE  
GREAT BRITAIN & her COLONIES,  
AND PRESERVE THE  
DEPENDENCY

OF  
A M E R I C A.

Hear Truth and Reason, and let Justice hold the Scale.  
OTWAY.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ALMON facing Burlington-house, Picadilly.  
Price 1 s.

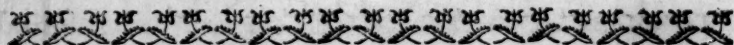
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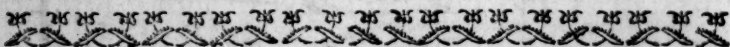
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The method proposed by this work to preserve the dependency of America and the dignity of Great Britain is, by granting to the colonies liberty to have manufactures of their own, and a foreign trade in British vessels ; under the sanction of their own REPRESENTATION and TAXATION ; on the principles of the Americans, and consistent with the true interest of the Mother country.



TO HIS GRACE, THE MOST NOBLE  
H U G H P E R C Y,  
DUKE AND EARL OF  
NORTHUMBERLAND,

Earl PERCY, Lord WARKWORTH, Lord Lieutenant  
and Custos Rotulorum of the Counties of NOR-  
THUMBERLAND and MIDDLESEX, Vice-Admiral  
of all AMERICA, and Knight of the Most Noble  
Order of the Garter.

ESPERANCE EN DIEU.

MY LORD DUKE,

**T**HERE is not an intelligent person in the  
three maritime states of Great Britain,  
France, and Spain, who, after the last war,  
which cost them so much blood and treasure, is  
not dissatisfied with the terms of peace.

The knowledge which the English have of  
COMMERCE and POLITICS gives them a superio-  
rity over the French and Spaniards in those  
great national points (a). And hence it is that

(a) My opponents say that this compliment is at the ex-  
pence of truth. The French (say they) are so far from  
being inferior to the English in commercial sagacity, that  
they seem to have the advantage. This will evidently ap-  
pear from the judgment with which they carry on their  
trade and extend it to every part of the globe. The Afri-  
can trade is a striking instance of their good sense, and so is  
that of Newfoundland, for which they obtain the preference



they can perceive the *present* bad effects of the treaty of 1762, and easily foretel the many evils which the ill-judged terms of peace *must necessarily produce* : and without the art of divination they may venture to say that the future evils will render that famous treaty still more alarming to the European powers.

The glory which the British arms acquired in the last war, gave the English ministers an opportunity, and indeed a right to require of the other two nations, not only settlements of great value in Africa, but also very considerable islands in the West Indies, and concessions of *vast territory on the continent of AMERICA; CONCESSIONS which, for extent of land, may possibly exceed the most extensive kingdom of Europe.*

In this propitious situation, Great Britain, by right of conquest, was enabled to make her own terms, and to demand what she thought fit ; and accordingly she spoke in a tone of superiority, and with such an imperative air, that methinks I still hear her say, " I will have ALL I require." Her requisitions were (as we may imagine under such circumstances) complied with, without hesitation, and a peace necessarily followed.

By this famous treaty it may be said, with truth, that Great Britain obliged France and Spain to lay the foundation of *her* destruction : and they were not so short-sighted but that they

at foreign markets, as their fish is better cured. And as to politics they are as much superior to us in the cabinet as they are in politeness, to both which, the English, in general, *they* think, have but very poor pretensions.

could



could see, with infinite concern, that their own ruin would follow, though something later.

It was at this memorable period that England really had in her power the finest, the most lucrative, and the most permanent PEACE that could be desired; but unfortunately for herself, as well as for all other states concerned in the tranquility and welfare of Europe, she used that fine opportunity without judgement. She made a peace, it is true, but it was rather such as her vanquished competitors desire than such as her success and superiority in ARMS and COMMERCE gave the British nation a right to dictate, and reason to expect: For I will venture to say, without fear of reproach, that this famous treaty is, as the French emphatically term it, *Un abime qui appelle et attire un autre abime*. And who does not know but that the first that falls in will be the last to get out?

The point which I have in view in this publication is very important, and highly concerns every member of this superior trading state. It is no less, my Lord Duke, than a plan of measures calculated, as I humbly conceive, so judiciously to the convenience of this great maritime nation and her American colonies, as to satisfy both, and to secure, at the same time, the general interest and tranquility of the British empire in the most permanent manner. By this plan, Great Britain will, I apprehend, not only regain the DEPENDENCY and AFFECTIONS of the colonies, which she has unhappily lost, but will also arrive at such an union of sentiment and  
conduct

conduct, as must necessarily promote the trade, manufactures, and navigation of England and America, and render both countries happy, great, and flourishing.

In consequence of this plan, and being fully persuaded of its great utility to his Majesty's European and American dominions, I have presumed to lay it before your Grace; not doubting but that the politeness and generosity which characterise the illustrious Duke of Northumberland, will powerfully influence his noble mind in favor of the author, whose useful knowledge and good intentions, it is presumed, render him not altogether unworthy of indulgence and encouragement: A man who does not wish to sow the seeds of discord, or to disturb the tranquility of mankind, but whose design, as will manifestly appear, tends to the general security, and to the common welfare of the state and its subjects far and near: A man, my Lord, who has the most earnest desire of shewing how the commerce of Great Britain can be easily and considerably extended, and the inhabitants enriched; and how the interest and power of this nation, both at home and in America, can be strengthened in such a manner as the English have a right to expect from the success of his Majesty's arms, and from the extent of his dominions.

That this task may not appear too great for my abilities, I here humbly offer to your Grace a few remarks on AMERICA, as a specimen of my experience and useful knowledge of that distant country. And as your Grace is Vice-Admiral  
of

of all America, and a very distinguished lord of parliament, I presume it will not be disagreeable to you to see some important observations on a country which now engages the attention of Great Britain, and which, I will venture to say, will soon attract the eyes of all the world.

As to Europe; we have lived, my Lord Duke, to see the most curious system of policy that ever was adopted by people in their senses. Historians will record it with reproach, and posterity will hear it with indignation: though for my own part I question whether succeeding generations will believe that in 1769, a few years after a general pacification, the tranquility of Europe was interrupted, and the balance of European power destroyed by the insolent little republic of GENOA, which is no more than a little paltry, insignificant and contemptible nest of LIGURIANS: who, after having frequently and grossly insulted the greatest maritime power in the world (by aiding and assisting her natural enemies, as is notorious) have dared to endanger her valuable Spanish, Italian, Turkey and Newfoundland trade to the Medirerranean and Levant seas, by ceding to the French the island of CORSICA, which was not their right to give.

We have also seen, with concern and astonishment, one of the great contracting powers, at the late peace, disturb the repose of Europe by carrying a powerful army into the Mediterranean to take possession, by force, of the ceded island; in violation of that recent treaty of general



neral pacification, and in violation of the laws of nations ; which, in all civilized states, are made to defend the natural right of the weaker from the invasions and usurpations of the stronger power. And yet, my Lord, this has been tamely suffered by the DUKE of GRAFTON, notwithstanding such hostile proceedings evidently tend to the great prejudice and danger of the British trade and navigation, as well as to the terror of his Majesty's good ally the King of Sardinia : and it is also in direct contradiction to the intent of the general peace, and to the meaning of those contracting powers who really had in view the tranquility of Europe and the balance of European power, whose *equilibrium* is now destroyed by the fate of Corsica; the effects of which will be sensibly felt by Great Britain when ever we have another war. (b)

(b) Nothing can be more obvious or more scandalous than this great truth. If the English had shewn but half the resentment against these audacious republicans as they have against their fellow-subjects, they would long ago have felt the weight of our well grounded displeasure. But, alas ! we are often foes to our second selves and friends to our worst enemies. There is not a greater blot in the Butean administration than the proclamation for prohibiting a commerce with Corsica upon the infamous principle of their being rebels to the power of the Genoese, who have always exerted themselves against us, and in favor of the French clandestinely, and now they have dared to do it publicly by the concession of Corsica. How could Lord Bute (who boasts so much of his sagacity) lose himself in this essential point, to the disgrace of our politics, or rather to the reproach of our virtue, and to the ruin of our trade ? But if we cannot sufficiently lament this *faux pas* of Lord Bute, who certainly could not so easily foresee the consequences, what ought we to say to his successor, the noble Duke,

I beg, however, to leave this great object of a manufacturing and trading nation to my superiors, that they may shew the public and all Europe upon what principles of humanity the oppressed Corsicans were neglected and sacrificed to the restless ambition of France; and that they may inform us upon what principles of policy or wise government a great commercial state suffers, with unconcern, her greatest rival to invade and subdue them, in order to strengthen her overgrown dominions and commerce, and to weaken that of Great Britain and her allies! I say, my Lord, I will leave these important considerations to those persons to whom it more immediately concerns, that they may reconcile such a monstrous solecism in politics, which I readily acknowledge is beyond the power of my abilities. I shall content myself with observing, that if the French have policy enough to turn opportunity to advantage, and to improve the scandalous inaction of Great Britain with regard to the Mediterranean trade and navigation, they will, now they have gained their point in those seas, turn their thoughts to the East Indies and to America; where if they should not succeed

Duke, who (after being told by all Europe of the injustice and absurdity of the proclamation and the dangerous consequences) has been obstinately deaf to every domestic and foreign remonstrance, and tamely suffered France to increase her strength and commerce upon the ruin of our own? This is so absurd that no reason can be assigned for it, but a want of virtue or a want of sense; and I am not willing to pay the head a complement at the expence of the heart; as it is more to the credit of a minister and to the honor of human nature, to be an incapable politician than a bad man.

so expeditiously as they have done in Corfica, they will have the advantage of preparing themselves and their good friends the Spaniards (who, by the Family-compact, differ from them only in name) against another war; which it does not require much penetration to discover will, when ever it does happen, become general.

From this situation of things, it is evident, that we stand in need of the best advice, and the most virtuous examples; in order, first to re-instate matters in their natural and proper channel in America; and then to give all the attention of a commercial government to that one great and principal object, **COMMERCE**; for *that* is our only natural source of wealth and power; the only promoter of universal industry, peace, and private property; and, consequently, the only proper method to increase his Majesty's **REVENUE**, upon which the removal of burthen some taxes, and the payment of the national debt chiefly depends: As I do not know, my Lord, of any other *adequate* means of providing either for principal or interest, than by the public revenue, arising from the flourishing condition of our commerce; or, what is the same thing, from the exportation and success of our numerous **MANUFACTURES** and valuable **FISHERIES**.

At a period so alarming as this, it is manifest that a principle of self-love alone should animate every individual to lay out his endeavors for the good of his country, in order to secure his own private property and privileges which are evidently endangered by such a complication



plication of unhappy national circumstances. Since it is hard to conceive what, but ruin, would become of property and privileges in case of that general disorder, and confusion which must necessarily happen from an unnatural struggle between Great Britain and her colonies, which our natural enemies the French and Spaniards will undoubtedly foment and take the advantage of in the East and West, if they cannot do it in Europe.

A situation like this, which stakes the happiness of *all*, calls aloud for the assistance of the most virtuous and intelligent members of the state: For though the illustrious Lord North, like an expert and careful pilot, ably guides the helm, and steers a right course, in order to keep the state vessel clear of these numerous rocks and shoals; yet it is prudent and necessary to call out all virtuous hearts and all able heads, in time of such imminent danger: And experience teaches us that none are more willing or more able to assist the state and to relieve the subject than the much admired and beloved Duke of Northumberland: who feels no satisfaction equal to that of doing good to his country and honor to his sovereign; nor enjoys any pleasure like that of being universally beloved by his compatriots and respected by judicious foreigners. A lover of your country; an encourager of merit, and the friend of mankind, are such great and noble qualities as justly intitle your Grace to that glorious distinction of the Roman, *HUMANI GENERIS DELICIÆ*.

It has long been the opinion of able politicians that, even in time of the most alarming complication of public evils, Great Britain can only be undone by the want of virtue and sense in the management of her affairs. No confederacy nor combination of powerful foreign enemies can accomplish her ruin while her statesmen have virtue and sense enough to be attentive to her true interest which is *commercial*. If ministers and senators assiduously and virtuously attend to these great national points (which are essentially necessary to render her a flourishing trading state) COMMERCE, which is our great and indeed our only source of wealth and power, will expeditiously furnish us with honourable and sufficient means to avoid all the evils which now alarm us, and render us an happy, great, and flourishing people.

Then, my Lord, let us lament that due attention has not been given in former administrations to this one great object; but let us not grieve so much as to lose more time about what cannot be recalled, and thereby render a situation which is already alarming still more dangerous. We should not reflect on the past with a malevolent design of reproaching those who were either weak or wicked; but with a view of avoiding a conduct that is odious, and maxims which are destructive to the community. Those who find fault without mending are, like Job's comforters: and whatever truth there may be in their observations, they discover either a weak head or a bad heart, when they have no other  
view

view than to point out blemishes which they are either unable or unwilling to remove.

As adversity makes a man wise in his private affairs, so in a public light we should profit by the inconveniencies which are brought upon the nation by the misconduct of former statesmen, and make it serve as a lesson for increasing our attention, in order to remedy those evils, and guard against all others in future. Upon this principle I breathe a sincere wish that past errors (except as the remembrance may be instructive) may be buried in oblivion; and that generous Britons may, with a spirit becoming men of sense and virtue, look forward and do their utmost endeavors to procure happier days. Let us patriotically wish that, through the powerful influence of such illustrious patriots as your Grace, all the attention of a commercial government may now and hereafter be given to that one great object COMMERCE, since it is convincingly evident that this manufacturing and maritime nation has no interest but what is either directly or indirectly depending upon her trade.

The first step necessary to this glorious and easy work is a good understanding among his Majesty's subjects in general; for without unanimity it will be an arduous undertaking. Without harmony and reciprocal benevolence to promote the public tranquility, security, and prosperity, there can be no good order or good government, which are essentially and absolutely necessary for the enjoyment of that tranquility which an industrious people require to promote the success of their various pursuits.

Those



Those men therefore who are so much lost to all sentiments of virtue and honor as to interrupt the wise operations of government and increase the public difficulties in time of such danger, for the gratification of private purposes, are pests of society and the most dangerous foes to an indulging country. They are like INCENDARIES who sacrifice the peace, property, and often the lives of their neighbours, for the sake of the spoil; or, more properly, like those mutinous and inhuman wretches who (having abandoned all sense of shame, and every tender feeling of humanity) endeavor to run a ship ashore, and hazard the property and lives of numbers for the sake of plunder, though they run the risk of involving themselves in the general catastrophe.

And since the hatred and violence of party is so unspeakably pernicious to the community, none can do a better service to their amiable King and country than those who use their endeavors to extinguish it; we may therefore reasonably hope that the Duke of Northumberland who has been so much distinguished by his Sovereign; so justly respected and beloved by his compatriots; and so greatly admired by foreigners; will, at this critical juncture, give an example of MODERATION to the rest; and use his powerful interest to convince others that nothing can be more odious in itself, more disgraceful to a civilized and sensible people, or more destructive to an industrious commercial state than faction and party-rage.

There

There is no character, my Lord Duke, more humane and amiable than a MEDIATOR, nor more useful to society. For this reason I presume to address myself to your Grace, who has always been benevolently and generously inspired with the passions of the community, and nobly animated for the glory of an excellent King. I have eagerly selected you, my Lord, from the few able statesmen and true patriots that we can now boast of, to be the patron of this noble work of conciliating the minds of contending parties, in order that there may be no odious distinctions and aversions, (which are so incompatible with the good sense and generous minds of Britons) but that all his Majesty's subjects far and near may be of one mind, and lay out their endeavors in a cause which is common to them all. I mean, my Lord, the tranquility, the preservation, and the prosperity of his Majesty's subjects, in which every individual is immediately and essentially concerned. And men who have any natural love to their country or any sense of their duty, or indeed who have no other love than to themselves, should exert their united strength in this common cause, at a time so alarming as the present misunderstanding between Great Britain and her American colonies.

The love which you have always shewn to your country has greatly and justly endeared your Grace to every class of your compatriots; and this, with your zealous attachment to the sacred House of Brunswick, has thoroughly convinced the nation that you are ready, upon every

ry occasion, to lend your powerful assistance, and to use all your interest for the security and prosperity of his Majesty's European and American dominions.

This, my Lord Duke, is the good intention, and these the respectful sentiments with which I have th honor to be,

Your Grace's

Most devoted servant,

COSMOPOLITE.





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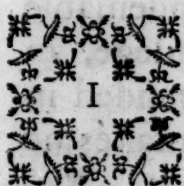
P L A N

TO RECONCILE

A M E R I C A.

*DIEU defend le DROIT.*

MY LORD DUKE,



Am not in the least surprized at the misunderstanding which has long and unhappily subsisted between Great-Britain and her Colonies; because, I apprehend, their differences are owing to *natural* and perhaps to *inevitable causes*; which may serve to convince our government and the East-India Company, that vast territorial acquisitions, especially at a very great distance, are incompatible with the true interest of a commercial state.

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It is with nations as with private individuals, self-preservation and self-love are the great ruling passions with the latter, and the great cementers of friendship and fidelity with the former ; or, in other terms, they are the great governing principles. And these leading motives being once *removed*, nations, like private persons, will naturally and necessarily shake off their *dependence*. As this obvious truth is known to men even of an ordinary capacity, we cannot reasonably suppose that so sensible, so spirited, and so free a people as the Americans certainly are, can either be blind or inattentive to the first and greatest principles of nature and government.

I say again and again if the colonists are British Subjects, they have an undeniable right to *every* indulgence and privilege, in the very same manner as if they resided in Great Britain ; for their *distance* makes no difference in the nature of things. Remoteness does not forfeit them the natural and constitutional rights of a free people, nor intitle us, who remain here, to exclusive privileges. If therefore they are equally free, which I believe was never disputed, and subject to the same laws and government, it necessarily follows that they are intitled to the very same benefits and advantages with us ; and that the Americans

ricans are, from the same principles, as justly intitled to the blessing of industry, by establishing *operose* manufactures, and by promoting a foreign commerce, as the rest of his Majesty's subjects who reside in Great Britain. This is too obvious to admit of a dispute, if we allow the colonists to be British subjects, originally the natural-born subjects of Great Britain, in a state of voluntary transportation or emigration for the good purposes and the advantage of his Majesty's dominions in general: and surely no man of sense and candor will attempt to maintain, or suggest, that their emigration to plant colonies, at a great risk and expence, *deprives* them of the blessings of constitutional liberty? To suggest that they *should* be precluded from the blessings common to all, and which are the birth-right of every British subject, would be as absurd as it would be unreasonable and unjust. For my own part, I really think that the Americans are rather deserving of *exclusive* privileges for undertaking so great and arduous a work, than to be precluded and oppressed for bringing it to perfection.

The case of natural subjects who plant colonies, is widely different from the predicament of people who are subdued and obliged to submit to the will of the conqueror.



queror. If therefore the colonists are upon a level with us in points of national privilege, and that they derive from the same constitution the very same rights and blessings, it ceases to be a matter of argument, whether the Americans should be suffered to enjoy their natural, equal, and undeniable rights as Englishmen; but if they are *not* admitted as such, in every respect, (which I believe has never been even doubted) then they have an undeniable right, which is natural to all people, to seek to promote their own interest and happiness, by such *means* as *they* best approve of; and, in that case, we certainly have no legal or just right to prevent their pursuing and endeavouring to attain those great, necessary, and rational objects: so that, in either case, that is, whether they really are, or absolutely are not, British subjects, they justly and evidently are intitled to the blessings of industry by the means of *operose* manufactures and a *foreign* commerce; without which great privileges of society they would manifestly be in a state of greater *subjection* than many, and perhaps all people who live under arbitrary and absolute governments.

I take this doctrine to be the *natural* principle and the *equitable* course of things, POLICY is a consideration of another kind, and indeed of so very different a complexion  
that

that it is often thought to militate against the well known principles of nature and equity. It may therefore be good policy, in the opinion of some politicians, to weaken his Majesty's *distant* dominions and to oppress his *remote* subjects, in order to strengthen his kingdom at home, and to gratify those, who, from accident not from superior merit, are nearer to him; but who will venture to say that such a partial gratification of the one part of his empire, at the expence of the other, is either natural, just, or politic in a free country? A country which should administer the same equitable laws, and impartially distribute the same blessings to all its subjects *far* and *near*.

Mr. Alderman TRECOTHICK, a great and well known American merchant, who has great *local* and *commercial* knowledge of that country, has been pleased to compare Great Britain and her colonies to an indulging mother and her dutiful daughters, as other very respectable and judicious gentlemen have done; and I think it was a favorite idea of the late Mr. Charles Townsend. Upon this principle, gentlemen reason morally and not politically. The parallel is drawn from the feelings and virtues of human nature, and not from the necessity of modern policy; and therefore the comparison does more honor to the heart than credit to the head of a politician;

tician; who should remember that the *necessary* maxims of government are often, at least *apparently*, in direct contradiction to the rigid principles of morality. The moral mind does honor to human nature in private life, but, from contracted notions, may do great injury in a public station. Morality teaches a conscientious regard to individuals, while good policy leaps over those narrow bounds, and shews unanswerably, that men should chearfully submit to the *salus populi*; it being reasonable that private convenience should cede to the security and welfare of the collective body: for whatever is for the good of the whole is most certainly, in its various and final operations, for the benefit of particular individuals; notwithstanding it may sometimes appear otherwise, when men look no further than into their own *immediate* views. My Lord Duke, if men in general were seriously and dispassionately to consider this, they would often have occasion to blush at the hasty and rash manner in which they condemn ministers; who, paying a greater regard to the general operation of things, and to the salutary and ultimate ends of society, generally merit a panegyric instead of the abuse which rapidly flows, like a *common shore*, from the foul mouths of individuals; who regard their own convenience more than the general good, and  
 who



who deny to able ministers that approbation which their impartial attention to *the whole* justly deserves from society, which receives the benefit of their extensive comprehension, and salutary measures.

With regard, my Lord, to the principles of nature and morality, which Mr. Trecothick and other acute gentlemen are pleased to think should secure the affections and *filial* duty of the colonies; permit me to observe that the mother, in a natural and religious sense, is certainly deserving of the affections, gratitude and contributions of her daughters, in return for their existence and support, until they were brought to a state of independence: This attention and return, she deserves, and may naturally expect from affection and gratitude: But who will say she can claim it as a right? Gratitude is a merit, but it does not constitute an absolute right: much less should that right be allowed when a better claim and a clearer title militates against it. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and the general preservation the first principle of government. Other objects have their degrees of merit, and some have a very large share, but as all are inferior to these primary and ultimate ends of society and of the creation, so it is reasonable they should all cede to these maxims which are the  
leading

leading and ruling principles with all men and in all states. Neither do I expect that any man of sense and candor will maintain, even upon *moral* principles, that the daughters should give such singular proofs of gratitude and affection, as to support the mother, good as she may be, beyond their abilities, and to their own ruin and destruction! But admitting, my Lord, to the very utmost latitude, every thing that can be said in favor of gratitude and affection; in favor I say of the source from whence so many blessings spring, this truth is unanswerable and a full refutation of such a claim on the colonies, viz. the *moral virtues* and *political necessity* are as widely different as the poles are opposite: The former teaches an eternal remembrance and acknowledgement of favors, while the latter maintains the propriety of it *no longer than it suits one's purpose*: so that a moralizing politician is quite as absurd as a political moralist. It is quite as ridiculous for a statesman to argue upon moral principles as it would be for a parson to preach politics.

Thus, my Lord, I can discover nothing *unnatural* or unreasonable in the struggle of the American colonies, which, like daughters in general, think it more immediately concerns them to think of their *own* interest

interest and preservation, than to promote that of their antient mother upon *very hard* conditions. This will appear both natural and strictly just, when we consider that we have all implanted in our natures a principle of self-love, which naturally influences and necessarily determines us to promote our own advantage preferable to the interest and convenience of others. This great law of nature and of society is not only justified but recommended by the christian religion, which teaches that charity should begin at home.

I allow that the great art of preserving colonies, after they are well and usefully planted, is, to make them dependent as much as possible on the mother country; but this, my Lord, is a very arduous task with a free and spirited people, who very justly think that *remoteness* does not deprive them of the blessings of their common, equal, and undeniable freedom. Therefore, what we find, by experience, cannot be done by *force*, should be effected by *policy*. If we cannot oblige the Americans to trade where, and as we please, let us have the good sense to secure the happy national consequences of their free industry, and their extensive trade; as *that* will answer the same salutary purpose, and perhaps a much better purpose than any un-

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natural



natural and impracticable restrictions. I cannot, therefore, agree with those men who maintain that, in order to secure the INDEPENDENCE of the colonies, the Americans should not be suffered to have *any* manufactures of their own, nor any *foreign* commerce, which *they* apprehend should both be confined to Great Britain as the great SOURCE of trade and navigation. Besides, my Lord, as such maxims of government would evidently deprive them of the most valuable objects of a trading people, and consequently of their dearest privileges as British subjects, it is, in my apprehension, impossible to put this doctrine in execution, with so enlightened a people as the Americans are universally allowed to be; or indeed with any other people, except those who are conquered, or when colonies are in a state of INFANCY; and then their *weakness*, not their *inclination*, obliges them to submit to almost any thing that government may choose to impose on them.

I would venture to stake all that is dear to me that I could prove, to a demonstration, and to the full conviction of every capacity, that

1. It is impossible to keep the Americans without manufactures of their own.

2. As

2. As the success and increase of manufactures will require a foreign trade, for what is more than sufficient for their own consumption, so it will also be absolutely impossible to prevent that foreign trade, and therefore it would be both impolitic and dangerous to attempt it.

3. That it is not absolutely necessary to prohibit either their establishing of manufactures, or promoting a foreign commerce; nay, I do maintain (which is a bold assertion) that the permission or uninterrupted liberty of exercising both, will be more conducive to the commercial and political interest of the mother country than any restrictions or prohibition of manufactures and foreign trade in America.

As to the first proof; the extent of territory, the number of inhabitants, the increase of population, the necessity of providing for them, their knowledge and spirit of emigration, roused by the severity of their governors and the misunderstanding with our government; these, my Lord and other powerful motives, makes it obvious that manufactures in America are absolutely inevitable.

The second proof follows in consequence of the first; that is, it will necessarily follow as the natural operation or effect of

that spirit of industry and dissatisfaction with Great Britain.

The third point I shall elucidate after a little digression.

To bring the greatest comforts to the heart (alluding to that doctrine which maintains that Great Britain should be the SOURCE of manufactures and commerce) may be right in a physical sense, but not in a commercial and political one: The body politic, in this case, differs from the body corporate. The parts of the latter are always the *same*, and so united and linked together like a chain, as not to be able to shake off their dependence; but it is not so with the latter; for in politics what was once the most insignificant and the most dependent, may, by a strange vicissitude of things, be raised to the most valuable station; for the seat of empire is not confined to any one place, but shifts about and fixes where there is the greatest prospect of success and stability.

In my opinion, to make manufactures and commerce *spring* from Great Britain, and to *confine* the great blessings of industry at home, and to compel, in consequence thereof, the Americans to submit to it; to compass these objects, which are manifestly unattainable, would be a master-stroke of policy for those particular merchants



chants who have, at present, great concerns or business in the colonies; but I apprehend it is neither just with regard to the Americans, nor a necessary step to arrive at the great objects and the ultimate aim of the British government. As I am sensible this doctrine will be strongly opposed, I hasten to defend it.

I maintain, that the free and uninterrupted permission of *manufactures*, and the carrying on a *foreign* trade, are so far from being detrimental and dangerous, in their consequences, to the mother country, that I really think the concession of those great points would be conducive to the commercial and political interest of Great Britain. As this is an uncommon, and perhaps a very bold assertion, it requires a clear elucidation.

As all men of experience and candor allow that it is absolutely impossible to restrain so numerous and so sagacious a people as the colonists, from the free exercise of every source of industry that tends to promote their interest, then let us make a *virtue of necessity*, and grant them, by favor, what is really no more than their undoubted right, and which has never been, nor ever can be forfeited or alienated. Let us I say, my Lord, grant them the free exercise of every privilege they are intitled to

to as British subjects, and allow them the undivided and uninterrupted enjoyment of every indulgence we enjoy ourselves, and which they are indisputably intitled to, as the *remote* but *natural* subjects of this kingdom, in the same state of freedom as ourselves. In fine, let the Americans establish *operose* manufactures, and carry on a *foreign* trade; where is the danger? The consequence it may be said will be this; they will import fewer articles from Great Britain; and, by carrying on a smaller trade with the mother country, they will employ less shipping, to the very great prejudice of our trade, manufactures, and navigation. In answer to these formidable objections, permit me, my Lord Duke, to observe, that it will, in the first place, require many years before this can be brought to any degree of perfection; and then our supplying them with the *materials* of their manufactures, and taking their *produce* in exchange for ours, will always make it their interest to push trade with us to its utmost extent: and hence it is evident we are in no *real danger* either of losing or diminishing the benefits of their commerce; which, being founded on reciprocal convenience, and the accomplishment of mutual views, must be permanent and attended with the most happy consequences.

But

But my Lord, methinks I hear an opponent say that a foreign commerce will deprive us of a great part of the benefits of the American trade, which should be *all* secured to to us. To this I reply, that what may at first view create a jealousy and appear prejudicial and even destructive, will be found beneficial and a matter of real joy when viewed in a more extensive light; that is, when we come to reflect on the co-operating causes and the consequences, or the various operations of commerce, when trade is unconfined and left intirely free. A foreign trade from and to America in *British-bottoms* by extending commerce will better promote the great ends of navigation, and not impede them, as they certainly must be impeded by confinement and restrictions, which are the very bane of commerce and navigation. This encouragement to the British navigation is a very essential advantage to Great Britain; and consequently a very great acquisition; and will answer infinitely better (than the present imperfect plan) the great ends of navigation; which, though well intended, is either very defective or imperfectly executed.

I expect it will be objected that the Articles which the Americans may have occasion to import from foreign countries, will



will, of consequence, not be imported in *so great a quantity as usual* from the mother country. This appears very natural, and yet I very much doubt whether it will make any essential difference; because, as a spirit of industry and commerce will greatly incourage and increase population in that very extensive country; so an infinite greater consumption of things in general, in proportion to that very great increase, will, in my opinion, compensate for that *apparent* disadvantage, and not only enable us to send as great a quantity of the *usual* articles as formerly, but also a very great quantity of *others*: so that, upon the whole, that is, in the various cooperating causes, and their inevitable and innumerable consequences, our trade with America will *increase* instead of declining, as might, with some shew of reason, be feared from their being permitted to manufacture and to carry on a foreign trade in British bottoms; and our navigation will most undoubtedly be considerably benefited by granting these great privileges to the colonies. But these, my Lord, are not *all* the happy effects of such a plan; there is still a greater source of advantage to Great Britain to be attended to, and that is, the ultimate end, or the certain effect of the free and flourishing condition of his Majesty's

Majesty's subjects in America, which will flow in various streams into this country, and which some wise politicians are taking a great deal of pains to prevent; not perhaps from a badness of heart, or any aversion to the colonists, but merely from contracted notions of commerce and politics; the various operations directly and indirectly, of which great national objects require an enlarged mind, divested of the prejudices and passions of interested and partial reasoners.

The great industry of the Americans, with regard to manufactures, commerce, and navigation, will make them a flourishing and opulent people; and in proportion as they grow wealthy by the natural and commendable means of industry, they will necessarily and inevitably raise a considerable public revenue for the exigencies of the mother country, by the duties and other well regulated contributions of their extensive trade and commerce. This is the greatest benefit that can possibly arise from the planting of colonies. Nothing more can, either in reason, or consistent with our own interest and honor, be required; because, in fact, it is accomplishing every thing. If, by various obvious means, and by as many more which will follow as naturally and easily as the effect must fol-

low the cause, you *increase the usual* sources of trade and navigation with the Americans, and, after so doing, their *operations ultimately make you a* RESERVED FUND for the purposes of *this* state, is not this effecting every thing that can be expected or desired from colonies, or from any other part of his Majesty's dominions? The great obstacle to the peace and prosperity of the Americans and to the dignity and interest of Great Britain, appears to me to be an *ill grounded jealousy of the colonies being* FREE and FLOURISHING. This, however, can only occur to men of small natural parts and little undelated hearts, who forego many advantages themselves because they are unwilling that others should *partake* of them. The freer, the happier, the more satisfied the Americans are, the more they will, the more they *must*, promote the ultimate end and aim of the mother country. By encouraging them, in this respect, you only give them the power to contribute to your purposes: and *vice versa* discourage them, and you will as evidently, naturally, and effectually destroy, what you have in view, and what you expect from the trouble and expence of planting colonies. I do not mean to be a partial advocate for America, but an advocate for reason and common sense. I admit there are,  
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at present, evils in the colonies which should be seriously attended to: but really I think they naturally arise from RELAXATION, and that that misunderstanding will more or less exist until a proper plan of operations is fixed upon. Although they are culpable, the mother country is perhaps more blameable for delaying the necessary plan, and thereby laying a foundation for the shameful irregularities which are now so much and so justly complained of; but which, though just, ought to be imputed to its *true cause*, which perhaps will be found to spring from the mother country.

If therefore the regulations of CUSTOMS and other TAXATIONS are put upon the same footing in America as they are in England (a task neither unreasonable nor arduous, if set about with judgement and executed with a becoming spirit,) bearing a *due proportion* to the nature and true state of things in the colonies, what reason will the mother country have to be jealous of their manufactures and trade? When it is evident, even to an ordinary understanding, that the flourishing condition of the Americans will greatly facilitate the purposes, and speedily promote the ends of our government, with regard to those great

national objects, trade, navigation and revenue.

Thus, my Lord, I maintain it to be very injudicious, and both unjust and impolitic, to think of securing *all* the advantages of manufactures and commerce to ourselves. Impolitic it is, to the last degree, because it will defeat the end proposed; and instead of securing *all* the benefits we shall, as is now very apparent, lose those which we were once in possession of. Every obstacle in their way is most certainly and demonstrably an obstruction to those points at which we aim, and which can only be attained, and permanently secured, by making the ROAD easy to those who are to TRAVEL in it for our own purposes. The denial of the privileges and indulgences common to all the subjects of this free state, whether near or remote, is a doctrine founded on injustice and impolicy: a doctrine that would, at the same time, deprive our fellow-subjects, whose rights are as clear and well grounded as our own; I say it would deprive them of their natural and constitutional rights, and the nation, of the benefits which would flow, like the tide, were they properly settled, from their industry and commerce; which ought not to be restrained but extended by all the methods by which it can possibly be extended;

extended ; and it is no matter *how* that is brought about, provided it is in the end found conducive to the interest, not of some particular men, but of his Majesty's subjects in general, and to the enrichment of the state, which will follow, of course ; as the wealth of the nation is founded *on*, and is in proportion *to* the prosperity of the subject.

From what I have said, my Lord, I think it manifestly appears, that all we have to do is, to make the Americans dependent on the mother country *legislatively* ; when that is done, upon natural and permanent principles, every thing else will follow of course, as the natural effects of one great and good cause. To compass this great point, I apprehend, the Americans should be made sensible that the colonies are, though remote, a part of the British dominions ; enjoying the same constitutional privileges, and subject to the very same restrictions and limitations as the inhabitants of Great Britain ; and I make no manner of doubt, but so discerning a people as they seem to be, will chearfully submit to the same limitations if they are allowed the same indulgencies ; that is, they will naturally acquiesce in every constitutional measure which bears a just proportion to  
their



their abilities to bear it; and to require more would be both unjust and impolitic.

To judge of the abilities of the colonies, and to settle a book of rates and mode of taxation in America, are the great points which are so much wanted to satisfy the Americans, and to answer the purposes of our government. For men, who are themselves totally ignorant of these matters, to pretend to pitch upon *a judicious plan of TAXATION* is an absurdity in terms, and as dangerous in its consequences as it is ridiculous in itself: for as these are *local* circumstances, it requires a local as well as a commercial knowledge of the colonies, of both which the brightest men here are either totally ignorant, or, at best, but superficially acquainted, from the imperfect and sometimes uncandid accounts of others, whose narratives are often defective through ignorance, and oftener from selfish and partial motives, which dictate their opinions, and guide their conduct concerning America. And since only those persons who *reside* in the colonies, and who, by a thorough knowledge of the various sources and operations of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, can judge with sagacity, what burthens they can, and ought in reason and justice to bear; so none but such intelligent persons *residing in America* should

should be left to determine points which so immediately and essentially concern the colonies, and which no other persons certainly can be so well qualified to judge of.

The Americans being therefore the best and indeed the only proper and adequate judges of their own situation and circumstances, I apprehend the colonists should be regulated in matters of REVENUE or TAXATION by their own representatives, as being the only competent judges of American SOURCES. And I apprehend that these representatives of the people should be either triennial or septennial ; one half to consist of their own free choice, and the other half of his Majesty's council : this, with the reserved power of appointing governors and officers, civil and military, would keep such a superiority on the side of the mother-country as I apprehend would keep America in a state of perfect subjection ; and *that* subordination would, in my apprehension, be a sufficient security against future fears of their INDEPENDENCY, as they would have no *local* power but that of taxation, or raising a revenue for the purposes of themselves and the British government. This plan would be an apparent indulgence, though, in fact, no concession at all in their favor ; as the SHARE of representation from the mother-country

country in the persons of the King's council, and other persons employed by this government, would throw such a weight of influence in the scale of representation, as to leave the colonists the name without the power of representation and taxation.

Upon this principle I imagine things might be properly regulated and amicably settled, and a reconciliation both of men and measures soon take place between Great Britain and her colonies; without the least violence on the one part, or the smallest resistance or aversion on the other. The Americans would be pleased with the *appearance* of a concession, and the *shadow* of authority, while Great Britain would always be in possession of the *substance* or reality: and by pretending to cede to their wishes would effectually carry all her points, and, with the most gentle methods, impose, enforce, and secure SUBORDINATION, which is so essentially necessary to the preservation and welfare of every state and society. The Americans being persuaded that, from such a plan, they enjoy *all* the rights of British subjects, and that they have gained their favourite point of *taxing* themselves, they would be pleased with the acquisition, and at their notions of liberty or constitutional freedom; they would, thus pleased and satisfied



tisfied, be quiet and good subjects ; they would also have a spur to their industry and a cement to their affections ; and, by promoting their own peace and interest, they would chearfully and naturally contribute the utmost of their power to the necessities of the British government : an event which, I presume, will never be peaceably and happily effected upon the violent and absurd principles which some hasty inconsiderate persons would *force* upon America. Principles, my Lord, which flow from narrow minds, or from partial motives, and which are as prejudicial to the mother-country as they are unjust to her colonies. And here I beg leave to observe, that rash advisers against America are greater enemies to Great Britain than to the colonies, for a very obvious reason, viz. because violence against them will precipitate us. The property (be pleased, my Lord, to advert to this great truth) of the islands is *real*, of America it is *imaginary*. Precipitate the nation into an unnatural dispute with the colonies and you not only lose *your* property in *their* hands, but you also stop the *usual* beneficial sources of trade and navigation. We shall be the sufferers, for they have *nothing* to lose. In this predicament we should consider whether the remedy of violence

lence is not worse than the disease; and whether we do not make a rod for ourselves, by inflicting a punishment which we shall feel more than them? These serious considerations will occur in a more copious and masterly manner to the acute penetration of Lord North; from whose excellent understanding and goodness of heart the nation may reasonably expect that every circumstance will be duly weighed before any steps are taken, for fear the consequences should be more disagreeable to the mother-country than to the colonies. In the mean time the enemies to America put me in mind of an observation of Tully, who judicially says, that "there is not one  
 "man in a thousand (he might have said  
 "ten thousand) capable of governing a  
 "state, and much fewer yet *who are able*  
 "*to make trade and commerce useful and ad-*  
 "*vantageous to it.*" By which it seems he thought commercial talents were scarcer and more useful to society than political abilities.

I should sooner have observed, that besides the impossibility of Great Britain's being a competent judge of the *ratio* of taxation for America, there is another very powerful motive for taxing the colonies upon my principle, and that is, the remoteness and loss of time, which will delay some measures and totally defeat the  
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purpose of others. In fine, there cannot be two more potent reasons militating on the side of taxation *in* America, than our ignorance of their sources for taxation, and our remoteness.

That great luminary Lord Chatham perplexed one half the nation with his American politics. His Lordship maintained that legislation and taxation were distinct things; and that altho' Great Britain had an undeniable right to govern the colonies, she had none to tax them. The noble Lord no doubt laughed at those who swallowed so great an absurdity. A right to govern, implies a right to tax, or where is the use of governing? The very name of *colony* implies a dependence, and that dependence implies a power of taxation, and every other authority necessary to secure the acquisition, and to promote the interest of the whole. Lord Chatham could not be *serious*, because his distinction between legislation and taxation is, in my opinion, a burlesque upon common sense, that exposes the credulity of those men who believe the great patriot more than they believe the gospel. Taxation follows legislation as naturally as incapacitation does expulsion. I do not allow the Americans the right either of legislation or taxation, but I plead for it, not as a right but



as a favour calculated to suit the convenience of America, and to answer the wise purposes of the nation and her colonies. There is a wide difference between a right and a concession : Lord Chatham is pleased to insist on the former, and I contend only for the latter.

I have the honor to be,

My LORD DUKE,

Your Grace's

most respectful Servant,

COSMOPOLITE.

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## P O S T S C R I P T.

MY LORD,

UPON the principles which I have laid down, I am so far from being alarmed at the thoughts of the Americans having manufactures of their own and a foreign commerce, that I confess I am rejoiced at it; and I would presume to advise the ministry to leave them quite free and totally unconfined in those respects, to promote their own interest as they please, and by *any* and *every* method that they can do it; since, I am of opinion that in proportion as they promote their own welfare they must necessarily increase the public revenue in America; which, by various means, would be applied to the uses and purposes of *this* government, as well, perhaps, as if it was collected in Great Britain. For this reason I think it is extremely absurd as well as prejudicial, both to the colonies and to the trade of this country, that British vessels loading in foreign parts, and bound to America, should be obliged, by the act of navigation, to  
*clear*

*clear out* in England; for if that ridiculous step is taken to secure the duty *here*, it might, with as much safety, and with infinite more propriety, be paid in the colonies for the use of the mother country. The act of navigation, which obliges all vessels that take in goods in foreign countries for America, *to come to England to clear out for the colonies* instead of going their voyages direct, is such an absurdity as I think eclipses all that I ever heard of: it is making a *double voyage*, and is, consequently, attended with *double expence*, which enhances the price, and the advance therein is an obstacle to the sale, it delays the returns, and, in its various operations, this evil is attended with many and great inconveniences and obstructions, and, consequently, with much loss to trade and manufactures; and I need not say to the great prejudice of our shipping or navigation, because it is well known that *that* nursery of seamen, that asylum for industry, must sustain a loss in proportion to the obstructions and difficulties attending trade; the discouragement of which we see occasions the decline of manufactures and husbandry, *their* loss or suspense throws thousands out of employment; some on the parish, some on the highway, others starve, and many emigrate rather than perish



rish for want of employment. All these evils are occasioned by *one* impolitic step, which obliges ships to lose their time, and the cargoes often to lose their markets by the *delay*, and the length of the voyage; for though many miles in a journey might not make much difference, because the setting out earlier and with greater expedition would remedy that inconvenience by land; yet it is not so by sea; where the delay, by the changing of the wind, may be considerable, and render a voyage which might have been very profitable, a very losing one; to the great inconvenience and loss of many; for the subjects of a trading state hold together (I speak of the intercourse of a commercial society) like the links of a chain, in which if you break one you disconcert the whole: it is exactly the same with a trading people; delay the voyage, lose the market, the want of sale, or the loss upon it, occasions innumerable inconveniences, which run through the body politic like electricity. It shakes the whole frame, saps the foundation, and endangers the fabrick. The noble construction of commerce cannot last, unless we compleat the component parts of it. If these evils only concerned the individual perhaps it would be absurd for me to point them out; but I trust they will be found

found worthy of public attention as they concern 'government very essentially, by weakening the natural sources of revenue of a great trading state. A great financier, like Lord North, will allow that the inconveniences attending commerce are the most essential objects of finances; because they weaken and destroy the sources of the state; which sources, or revenue, is the primary and ultimate aim of a financier, they being the very sinews of the nation and the energy of government. As the flourishing condition of trade is the life of industry, and the soul of a great commercial nation, so every obstruction militates against the life and soul of the body politic, and destroys it as the consumption weakens and destroys the body corporate. In short, this defect in the act of navigation is a great prejudice and injustice to the colonies, and a disgrace to our understanding, or rather a reproach to those who made a clause in that act which is repugnant to common sense and to good policy.

It is a restriction, my Lord, that is attended with many inconveniences without promoting one good purpose; since the end proposed of raising contributions in England for the purpose of a revenue might as well be paid in the colonies and applied to the uses of this government, as  
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to make vessels come out of their way, lengthen their voyages, and often lose their markets, for no other reason than to pay it here.

My Lord, Mr. Trecothick has been pleased to observe, that in order to prevent the *alarming* consequences of the Americans establishing manufactures of their own, and carrying on an extensive foreign trade, he would propose an *adequate* compensation to them for the deprivation of those liberties, and that compensation is by *encouraging* their EXPORTS. I reverence his good intentions, and have an high opinion of the alderman's knowledge of the colonies; I am also persuaded that his sagacity, in proposing a compensation to America, would be superior to any thing of the sort from the generality of mankind; because, he has the advantage of local knowledge, and is well versed in the commerce, produce, and temper of the Americans: but, with submission to his experience *of*, and connections *in* the colonies, I venture to affirm that nothing in nature can be adequate (nor approach near to it) to the innumerable happy effects of opulose manufactures and a free trade and commerce: and I challenge the whole world to refute this assertion; the truth of which is too obvious not to be perceived, and too serious

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rious to be wantonly denied : and I think that American merchant knows the cooperating causes and the natural consequences of these great sources of industry too well to undertake to equal them, or to propose a compensation.

If the mother country was unhappily to *forget her own interest* and make a point of depriving the Americans of these natural, constitutional, and immense sources, (which I think will be impossible to effect after an hazardous and expensive struggle) in this case, I admit there may be some *douceurs*, which, to undiscerning eyes, and to men who have not enlarged ideas, or extensive notions of trade and commerce; I say, my Lord, to such members of society these *douceurs* may appear satisfactory; but they will not be thought *adequate* by persons who are competent judges of the various and great operations of manufactures and commerce. Such experienced judges will naturally and candidly declare that *these* are a continual and improving source of treasure, natural to a trading country, and always to be depended on ; whereas the proposed compensation would be accidental and temporary, whose stability would depend upon caprice and chance ; that is, on the will of the encourager, and  
therefore

therefore it is both inadequate of itself and precarious as to its duration.

He says, my Lord, that in order to please the Americans and divert them from the thought of what we are unwilling to grant them, he would encourage the exportation of their timber at an *advanced price*, which he thinks would be a *double advantage* to America.

1. By serving the colonies, and
2. By lessening our trade in that article with foreign parts; from whence we shall not have occasion for so much as we now import from abroad, and in time we may do without any at all from foreigners.

This, my Lord, is his compensation which I shall shew, in a few words, is imaginary and without any solid foundation.

With regard to the first; though he might himself, from patriotic motives, be disposed to give the Americans an *advanced price* for their timber, how can he answer for the rest of the community? And how indeed can he fix *any price* while the consumer can choose whether he will have that, or import it from abroad? It is not in our power to give the *advanced price*, if it is at the option of the consumer to refuse it, in which case the *advanced price* will be an hinderance to the sale, and do

an injury to the importer where we intended a benefit (*a*). If we could prohibit the importation, necessity would oblige the consumer to encourage the colonies and submit to an advanced price. But first, the prohibition is a remedy worse than the disease; or, in other terms he would oblige the consumer to give more than he can afford in order to encourage the Americans: This would be burthening the inhabitants of the mother country to ease the colonists.

As to the second advantage which the merchant thinks will arise from the above compensation, viz. to *lessen our trade* in that article with the foreign state from which we now import it; I doubt very much whether that would be a real advantage to this country when it is duly considered.

I have had great experience in commerce myself, and have long been convinced that as exports give the balance of trade in favor of a commercial nation, so the fewer imports we have, the better, as they are generally against us, not against us only,

(*a*) By advancing the price, we decrease the consumption, and by lessening the importation the injury will be greater to the importer as well as to the consumer. By importing less, we deprive the colonies of a greater benefit than the advanced price we propose to give them.

but



but against all trading nations. Exports and imports have opposite effects: nevertheless, I take it to be a mistaken notion in general to cease importing from foreign countries, the articles which we shall be able to get from our colonies. Trade must be free and unconfined; the trader should import *what* he chooses, and the consumer buy *where* he pleases. If the trade is restrained, and the price advanced in compliment to the importer, we unjustly shackle the consumer, or rather we burthen society by the increase. Will you say to the subjects of a free state, you shall have timber at an advanced price from the colonies? He will naturally reply, I will *not*, for I can import it cheaper from abroad. To oblige him would be unjust to the individual, and impolitic with regard to trade, which would be hurt by the restriction. It would be equally impolitic and prejudicial to restrict the importation to the colonies; because as self-love is a ruling passion with nations as well as with men, so there can be no doubt but foreigners, who are quite as wise in these matters as ourselves, will cease to take our commodities if we do not make use of theirs; and will naturally give the preference to other nations, which are willing to make the advantages of trade and navigation reciprocal

ciprocal: infomuch that what we might gain one way we should lose another; I speak in general, Mr. Trecothick perhaps knows best whether this branch of trade is an exception to these general and natural maxims of commerce. The balance of trade with the foreign country from whence we import timber, will enable us to determine whether it will answer the purpose of this country to cease importing it from abroad in compliment to America.

My plan of reconciliation is nothing more than the exertion of COMMON SENSE, which will teach us to have an attentive eye to our true interest, without being diverted from it by the passions of men who either have not a head to understand it, or a heart to promote that great object. Natural means will be easy and advantageous, while violent measures will be difficult, and perhaps will totally defeat the purpose, and destroy what we should wish to preserve.

It will, I hope, evidently appear, that I am not a party writer in this matter. Notwithstanding I have a natural predilection for this my country, I am neither prepossessed in this cause in favor of the one side, nor prejudiced against the other. Men who presume to suggest their opinion on national concerns of great importance should

should do it with temper, and shew, as I trust I have shewn, that they are intirely divested of partiality and prejudice. I rise, in the language of parliament, for the good of my country and for the honor of human nature; in me truth and justice shall never want a friend.

Legislation, taxation, manufactures and commerce being established in the colonies, upon my principles, America will be happy and flourishing. A natural attention to these great objects, by keeping the Americans fully employed, will, in proportion as they love themselves, necessarily establish a judicious SUBORDINATION. These desirable events will rapidly flow from the source of measures founded on COMMON SENSE, as naturally as the effect follows the cause. They will soon reconcile the mother county to her colonies. It is therefore evident that America must not be violently restrained. Shackle the colonies and you render them useless and burthensome. Destroy the fetters which are forging for the Americans, and, by leaving them the liberty to promote their own interest, they will inevitably contribute, by various means, to the support and dignity of the crown of Great Britain.

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My plan will promote our commercial and political interest very essentially. It will not only create peace and plenty among his Majesty's subjects far and near, and be an improving treasure to government, but it will also be a nursery for our seamen, and a check upon our natural enemies the French and Spaniards; who being jealous of, and alarmed at our strength at home and in the colonies, it will divert them from the designs of the restless and ambitious house of Bourbon, and frustrate the views of the Family-compact, which are extended to our Mediterranean and Turkey trades and our navigation; and will, unboubtedly, harraßs us in the east and west, and take every advantage of our misunderstandings in America to rob us of our very valuable FISHERIES, if a reconciliation with the colonies does not soon take place.

F I N I S.

